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is this *urar*?' 'I don't know where he is.' 'All right, by and by we will all go and paddle.' Another day some of the other people saw the *urar*, they saw him turn into a shark and into a *kitatō*; then they knew that what the man had told them was true.

My attention was first drawn to these transformations of *urar* into animals in connexion with discussions on death, and it is quite clear that this power is ascribed to the ghosts of people who have died and become *urar*. But while listening to tales dealing with similar transformations in the course of an evening's story-telling, I noticed that some of these beings did not seem to be regarded with quite the same intensity of fear and dread that was associated with the ghosts of the dead, although the same word, *urar*, was used. Furthermore, in translating these stories into pidgin-English, the word *maselai* was used in some cases, whereas the pidgin-English term for the ghost of a dead person is *tamboran*. When I inquired into this distinction, my informants were very vague in their replies, insisting that both were *urar*. Then my servant, who was present at the discussion, told me that in the Petats dialect they used different words, *amat* for the spirit of a person who had died, which he gave as the equivalent to the pidgin-English *tamboran*, and *halelehan* for the other spirits who were called in pidgin-English *maselai*. It would seem, therefore, as if there really were two kinds of spirits, one kind consisting of the ghosts of dead persons, and the other of spirits who had never been men, though the distinction is somewhat blurred in the use of the same word for both kinds in the Kurtatchi dialect. Perhaps the natives are not very clear about it themselves, for whenever I asked them to explain what they meant by *urar* I was always told that it was a person who had died a long time ago. Since returning home, I have discovered that the same dual meaning is attached to the word *adaro* at San Cristoval and to the word *akalo* at Ulawa and Mala (Fox, 1924, p. 107), which corroborates the evidence given above.

Among the spirits which are called *urar* but should perhaps (though I am not certain as to this) not be considered as the ghosts of persons who have died, there are apparently included certain *urar* who, in the form of animals, are associated with individual men or women in a manner rather difficult to define, but constituting a bond which is clearly recognized. Such an individual claims that the *urar*-creature is 'my kinsman' (*boasi*), that it will come at his call, and at his bidding will assist him, or his friends,

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or will desist from harming them. This association is reported with sharks, snakes, and crocodiles, there may be other creatures of which I have no record. Only a few individuals stand in this relationship. They may be either men or women; they are known by their fellow villagers to have influence over the creatures with which they are associated, and are sometimes asked to use this influence upon their *urar*-kinsmen in the public interest, being paid in ceremonial currency for their intervention. Conversely, they will interfere on behalf of their *urar*-kinsmen when occasion arises. A few examples will serve to illustrate this relationship.

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A crocodile was caught in a dam which was set up to catch fish. A man who was kin to the crocodile came and said that it was not to be killed, because it was his kinsman, but must be allowed to go back into the sea. so the fishermen broke their dam and let the water in and the crocodile escaped.

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Some snakes were eating a man who had got lost in the bush belonging to the snake *urar*. A man who was kin to the snakes went to look for the missing man, and when he saw what was happening he called out to the snakes: 'Why are you doing harm to this man? He is not a stranger, he is a friend of mine, you must loose him and go away.' So the snakes let go of the man and went away.[1]

There was a woman who was kin to the *urar* who lived in a certain part of the sea. She asked to be taken in a canoe to visit her kinsmen. The canoe-men did not understand, they thought she wanted to visit her human kinsmen. Ceremonial pudding and other food was prepared, and they set out with the woman, and went straight to this part of the sea. Then the woman said to the men: 'All right, you stop the canoe just here.' So they stopped the canoe. The men said: 'Where do you want to go?' She said: 'Just here,' and pointed straight down into the water. Then the woman took the food and threw it into the sea. All the men looked, the food disappeared, it was lost. Then the woman jumped into the sea. She went down altogether. She had no paint on her hair, and wore no ornaments. The men waited for her, she did not come up. They all cried, they thought she was lost altogether, they were sorry about her. They waited for her a long time, then she came back. She did not come up in the sea, she came up on the shore. She came up with a woman's pack on her back, it was full of pieces of pig she had been given in the place of the *urar*, and they had put paint on her hair

[1] A very similar but more detailed story which I obtained from another village is given in full in my paper in *Folk-lore* (1932, p. 86).

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and given her ornaments. The men took her again into the canoe and went back to the village. All the people of the village came and asked her: 'Where have you been?' She did not want to tell them, but they kept on asking her, they gave her no peace. At last she said: 'If you look behind you, you will see all my kinsmen coming up.' Then all the kinsmen of the woman came up on to the sand near the village. They were all sharks. (Here the teller explained that they were *urar* who had turned into sharks.) Then the woman said to the people of the village: 'All right, you people come to the shore, come and see my kinsmen.' Then they all went to look, then they understood. Then the woman sent all the sharks away again. She said to them: 'All right, you people go back now, I only wanted to show you to all the men who kept asking me about you, they never stopped asking me, but I did not want to talk about it, so I called you all to show you to the men.'

The man who told me this said afterwards: 'This woman was not an *urar*, she was a real person. I have seen the place where it happened; the man belonging to the place, who told me about it, said she was a relative of his, and he used to eat at her house.'

In most of the cases of this kind of association which came under my notice, it had been inherited from some relative belonging to the same clan, and its possessor did not know how it had originated. In one or two instances, however, the connexion between an individual and a shark was traced back to an ancestor who bore a child in the shape of a shark. Togen (a middle-aged man belonging to the village of Timputs, but living at Kurtatchi since his marriage to one of the daughters of the *tsunaun*), after telling me a story concerning a woman who bore a shark-child,[1] added that his own shark was called Muwatskawits, and lived at Timputs: 'My grandmother (*tubunē*, used for an actual grandparent or for any ancestor farther back) bore it a long time ago.' If a shark from another place wants to eat any of Togen's people at Timputs, Muwatskawits chases him away, and says: 'You must not eat my children. I don't want you to come here. If you don't go back I shall kill you.'

It seems a fair inference, from the use of the word *boanē* to describe this relationship, that the creature is considered to be a member of the same clan as that of the individual associated with it (see the discussion of this term on p. 33). I did not find any indications that certain animals were associated only with persons of any given clan, e.g. sharks with Naboin or crocodiles with Nakarib. It seems to be a purely personal association, but in trans-

[1] This story is given in my paper in *Folk-lore* (1932, p. 83).

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ferring the creature to some one else when at the point of death, the individual apparently chooses a relative belonging to the same clan as himself; this would be natural if the shark were thought to have been born to an ancestor, as in the case of Togen just quoted. They appear to be definitely associated with persons rather than with places, and so differ from the 'tutelary sharks' described by Ivens (1927, p. 230, &c.). Neither do they correspond exactly to the 'familiar' as described on Ulawa by Ivens (p. 239) and on San Cristoval by Fox (1924, p. 231), for they do not bear the name of the person who is associated with them neither do they die when the man dies. Ivens makes mention of 'incarnations' of the dead as sharks, swordfish, crocodiles, megapodes, &c. (p. 187), but he does not indicate whether any association with these is claimed by living individuals.

ASSOCIATION OF *URAR* WITH STONES

As well as the association of *urar* with places, described in previous paragraphs, there is a much more intimate connexion between certain *urar* and particular stones or rocks, the locality and names of which are known to all. The *urar* is not supposed merely to inhabit the stone, or the stone to belong to the *urar*, but the two are completely identified, so that the *urar is* the stone. Associated with many such stones is the belief that at night they again become *urar*, or in some cases human beings, and walk about, or go fishing, or dance.

Where the origin of the connexion between the *urar* and the stone is given, the *urar* is certainly thought to be the ghost of a person who has died; but as in many cases no explanation of the identification was forthcoming, I am not able to say whether this holds true of all. In illustration of this belief may be cited the following:

Two women died and became *urar*. Their name was Kakenmon. (The name seems to belong to the two of them together.) Two children went looking for hermit crabs in holes; the two *urar* stole the children, and took them away. The father of the two children lit a fire and made smoke to drive the *urar* away. Now they are stones, they are on the beach at Rana, two stones, two women, the name of the two stones is Kakenmon. At night they are *urar*, and play on the shore; when the sun rises they become stones again.

A man died and was thrown into the sea. His body came to the surface and drifted, and was caught under some mangroves. Some men who

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with me looking on rather dismayed, but much interested, and offering no objection. They call the stone 'A Pi'. *Pi* means a sore, and they think that any one who touches it will have sores break out on his body, hence, it afterwards transpired, their anxiety about my handling it. As soon as I discovered this, I told them that I had destroyed its evil power by cleaning it, and they were then emboldened to lift it out of the thicket of bush which grew round it and put it into a position where I could photograph it and even to hold it upright while I did so. There proved to be a design on both sides of it (Pl. 77 *a*, *b*). This was recognized by the Petats men who were my companions; they said it was called *gōm*, that the two parts of the pattern belonged together, and that in the olden days they used to cut it on their faces. (I think the word *gōm* simply means a design of any kind, not only this particular pattern.) They had no idea it was there. I took a rubbing of it in case the photograph should be a failure, and the Iltopan native who had brought me and my Petats friends to the spot asked me to make another and give it to him to show to his people, which I did. After I had photographed it I made them put it back into its thicket, but they carefully propped it up against the standing portion and left it so that its pattern was visible from the road. They said that now I had cleaned it they would not be afraid of it any more. As we left, the Iltopan native turned to the stone and said: 'Master, I am coming back presently. You and I belong to the same clan.'

Stone pillar at Tohatchi

On the Government road about half a mile north of the village of Tohatchi, on the east coast of Buka, some four or five miles to the south of the stone pillar just described, there is another, which appears to be unbroken. It stands about 6½ feet high, and is not quite circular in section; its longer diameter measures 12 inches and its shorter 9 inches. The name of the piece of ground on which it stands is Didirowan. It is, however, apparently not in its original position, but was set up by the roadside comparatively recently; owing to the fact that these people do not know how to measure time they could give me no idea how long ago, but it was within living memory. They said also that some boys brought it from Lontis (on the north-west corner of Buka) 'when it was a little stone, about so high (measuring a length of about a foot)', and that it used to be inside their houses; they called it their child and played

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with it. But one day the spirits who live in the bush came and took it away and hid it in the bush. There it remained till it was found and brought to its present position.

The name of the stone was given by the local men who showed it to me as Ginagon, but a Tohatchi man at Yamē, who first told me of its existence, called it Ginoput. When I asked the local men about this they said it was all the same. They could give me no explanation of the name.

The stone is much discoloured, and covered with fungus and lichens, which somewhat mask, without concealing, several incised designs, not as deeply cut or as well executed as those on the stone at Iltopan, and differently arranged, as will be seen from the photograph (Pl. 78). The natives said the marks had been made when the stone was a little stone; then the marks were small too; now that the stone is big the marks have grown with it.

My companions from Petats, who had not seen the stone before, recognized one of the patterns, which they called *kalu*, saying it was one which they used to cut on their foreheads, before they gave up the practice of cicatrization at the wish of the mission. This one was on the side of the stone. When I subsequently showed a drawing of the designs on the stone to the people of Kurtatchi they compared it to their own design called *lalōm*, which they cut on the back of the neck of persons of rank (see Pl. 70 *b*).

As well as these designs, which are evidently of some antiquity, there are many recent scratches. These the people of Tohatchi say they make at the present time, to measure their height, as we used to do on the lintel of the nursery door. One of the men stood beside his mark to show me what they did. They had no feelings of awe or fear in regard to the stone, such as were plainly felt towards that at Iltopan, and it was evidently not credited with any magical power. The most careful investigation during my subsequent visit to Totatchi failed to elicit any more information about it.

Stone pillar at Lonahan

Still farther down the coast, and again on the Government road, near the village of Lonahan, just north of Malasang, there is the remains of another pillar (Pl. 79 *b*). It shows signs of mutilation, and there is a tale that a man hacked it with an axe. Also it is much weathered. It appears once to have been a round pillar similar to the others, but now tapers much more sharply to a point than it

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324 —found it in the ground. He set it up in front of his house, which used to stand where the stone now is; the place was once the site of a village. The *tsunaun* of the village gave the man who found it some ceremonial currency for it. He put paint on it, and made a big feast, and gave the stone to Nawi, his sister's daughter, when she was a baby. Nawi is now a girl of about thirteen. The ceremony held when such a stone is given to a child is called *Wawaluŋ*. There were traces of red paint on it and on the little stones. Pinari said that the paint was put on in the same pattern as was used on the heads of the people on ceremonial occasions, a line of black down the middle with broad bands of red on both sides of it. They also put coco-nut oil on the stone, and decorate it with flowers and leaves. Before doing this they kill a pig and cook it, and wash the stone in the water.

[776] Nawi has not seen it yet. When she wishes to look at it for the first time she will have to make a feast and take some food and give it to the stone, and the *urar* of the stone will eat it. Then if Nawi wishes to remove the stone and put it in front of her house in the present village of Kurtatchi, it will be all right, but if any one else moved it, it would find its way back.

Stone pillars (?) reported but not visited

324 I was told that there is a stone pillar, said to be similar to the one at Yamē, at Raua Plantation, on the coast of Bougainville several miles to the east of Kurtatchi. Another is reported on the west coast of Buka, near the R.C. Mission at Bonotui. To my great regret, circumstances did not permit of my visiting either of these. As far as my informants knew, there were no designs upon them, but in view of the ignorance of the Iltopan people of the pattern on 'A Pi', concealed as it was by moss and fungus, such reports are probably not to be relied upon.

Stone monument at Tiop

778 At Tiop, an island at the north-eastern corner of Bougainville, there is a group of stones which are not pillars, but flat slabs of limestone, apparently unworked. There is no trace of a design upon them. There are two large slabs and two smaller ones (Pl. 80). One of the large slabs stands upright, the two smaller ones, also upright, are at its base, the other large slab lies flat on the ground. It seemed to be quite firmly embedded, but the natives could give

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324 The Nagas also erect paired monuments in which one slab of stone
171 represents the male and the other the female (Hutton, 1922 (ii), p. 243 and Pl. XVI) to which the stones at Tiop (which are also male and female) would be closely comparable in appearance, supposing the now prostrate stone originally to have stood upright. One of the reasons the Nagas give for so doing is 'that anything else is abhorrent to nature'.

324 It will be remembered that children are brought to the Tiop
842 stones by their mothers at birth, and again for cicatrization; that the patterns on the two incised stones of Buka are the same as those produced by this operation on the skin; and that cicatrization is said to 'make the milk come up' in young women, and to render each sex more attractive to the other. These considerations lead me to put forward, very tentatively, an hypothesis that the stones at Tiop and the pillars of Buka and Bougainville may perhaps once have formed part of an elaborate fertility ritual, most of which has now been lost.

The existence of the stones at Tiop, and the ritual connected with them, came to my notice only at the very end of my period of residence, when I was unable for lack of time to investigate the question more fully. Further researches in this area might bring to light other pillars and more information if it is not already gone beyond recall.

BUSH GOBLINS

776 To complete, so far as my material permits, the account of the
538 beliefs held by these people in regard to ghosts and spirits, reference must be made to a group of beings which must be regarded as in a completely different category from those hitherto described. They are never called *urar* or connected in any way with persons who have died. They are not regarded with the terror inspired by the *urar*, but with a mixture of rather shamefaced fear and half-affectionate amusement apparently somewhat of the nature of the feelings of country people in bygone days towards fairies, or perhaps, since they are generally more or less mischievous, they are better compared to goblins. They live in the bush, but are not associated with special portions of it as the *urar* in their various transformations are thought to be. Their doings and adventures, particularly those into which human beings enter, provide material for endless numbers of stories, which are always much enjoyed by

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both audience and narrator. That these stories are traditional is clear from the reappearance of certain stock incidents, with minor variations, in tales collected in different villages and told in several dialects. But although everybody knows about these spirits, which are thought to be visible to human beings, I never heard any one say that he had seen one, or even that he knew some one who had!

These bush goblins are of two kinds. One kind is called in the Petats dialect Kirin. They belong to the Manu clan. Those who are 'close to' them (i.e. in kinship) can see them; they will come to such people when called, and are then given food, especially ceremonial pudding, of which they are said to be very fond. I could get no clear idea of exactly what was meant by this connexion. It was described differently from that existing between a person and an *urar*-creature discussed in a preceding section. There are a great many Kirin. They live in holes under stones, especially at places where there is water. They also climb trees. They are described as being about a foot high (height shown by a gesture); they look like human beings, either male or female. Their skin is black; they have long hair, and long nails with which they scratch people in order to kill them. They can make a noise like a whistle. They are not always malevolent, but sometimes helpful to people. On the whole, however, they are regarded as mischievous.

The second kind of goblin is represented in Petats tales by a single individual, called Tatopiok. He belongs to the Kekeleo clan. One old man was named as being 'close to' him. He also lives in the bush. He has very long legs, so long that when he squats down his knees reach above his head. He has long hair, and his body is hairy as well as his head. His skin is light; it was compared to the colour of my own. He is always described as 'a bad fellow'; he comes to houses at night and steals food and ceremonial currency and other portable property and takes it away into the bush. But the Petats people said that now the Mission had come he did not steal any more!

At Kurtatchi the two kinds of goblins were not associated with the clans, nor was anything said about a special connexion between them and certain human beings. The descriptions given were otherwise identical. The 'little people' are called in the Kurtatchi dialect Tukis. The equivalent of Tatopiok is Pinari, also called Dinis, but whereas Tatopiok appears to be considered as a single

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individual of the male sex, there seem to be a number of Pinari both male and female, as although one usually appears as the protagonist in any given story, they sometimes act in groups. The stories collected in both districts are in some instances identical. But sometimes incidents in which Tukis figures according to one version, will be reported of Pinari in another, so that there seems to be a process of pooling going on as regards their adventures. But the difference in their physical characteristics, and the fact that in some stories both Pinari and Tukis appear together, sometimes as confederates, sometimes as antagonists, indicates that they are regarded as distinct.

There is a very large number of stories relating to these goblins in my collection. Most of them tell how Tukis or Pinari succeed in getting the better of some human, usually by a trick, or, conversely, how some human got his own back on the goblin. Occasionally a Tukis is represented as helping a man to capture or to escape from a Pinari. Both Tukis and Pinari delight in persuading some too trusting human to come to their holes, where the unsuspecting guest is trapped and eaten as a relish to taro, unless he is able to outwit the goblin and make his escape. In other stories it is the goblin who is caught and eaten. Both Tukis and Pinari can appear in the shape of any given individual. Sometimes they impersonate a man's wife, sometimes a woman's husband, or her baby. In either case the result is usually the death of the person who is deceived by the resemblance, and very often also of the goblin, who is killed by the victim's husband or relatives in revenge. A man or woman who has sexual intercourse with a Pinari will die. They present themselves to people who are in the bush alone, and also to groups of children, out opossum hunting or fishing or gathering nuts; they begin a conversation by asking for food, and various adventures then ensue. If they find any food left unguarded, they steal it. They are not represented as taking the shapes of animals or appearing in any other form except their own or that of some human being.

I cannot find any exact parallel to the Pinari in accounts of other Melanesian peoples. There may be some affinity with the *adaro ni hasimou* of San Cristoval, who have long, straight hair and are malevolent (Fox, 1924, p. 129). But they are described as dark skinned, whereas my informants all laid stress on the fact that a Pinari's skin was as light as a white man's. Their behaviour also differs in detail.

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Tukis clearly corresponds to the Kakamora of San Cristoval as described by Fox (p. 140 ff.). Not only does the description tally exactly, but some of the tales are identical. Some of the stories in my collection concerning both Pinari and Tukis are recorded of *nitu* in the Mono-Alu tales (Wheeler, 1926, *passim*).

There is nothing in the accounts of these 'little people' which I obtained from Buka and North Bougainville which will serve either to confirm or to refute Fox's suggestion that 'they may be the people who held the land before the Melanesians entered it, in very ancient times, and who are now extinct; or they may be the memories of other people from other islands whence the Melanesians came'. The occurrence of these stories in the northernmost islands of the Solomon group would be quite consistent with either hypothesis, and the possibility of a terrestrial origin is supported by the marked contrast between the rather jocular familiarity of the attitude of the natives towards these beings and the very real dread which is inspired by the *urar*.

Summary

The various kinds of supernormal beings in which the people of this area believe may be distinguished as follows:

urar (Petats dialect *amat*). Spirits of the dead, who live in the region of the volcano Balbi; can return to help or to harm the living, and are invoked on various ceremonial occasions.

urar (Petats dialect *halelehan*) is also used to refer to spirits who have never been men; these are associated with certain localities or, in the form of animals, with certain individuals; they are not regarded with such intense awe and fear as are the spirits of the dead.

Pinari (Petats Tatopiok). A goblin, or group of goblins, with white skin and very long legs.

Tukis (Petats Kirin), another group of bush goblins, about a foot high, with very dark skin.

Both Pinari and Tukis live in the bush and play tricks on people; they are regarded with half-fearful, half-affectionate amusement rather than with dread, although they are supposed to kill and eat human beings if they get the chance.

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The ornamentation in Buka is a double one: it consists either of a row of the grotesque heads and human figures that are characteristic for this region in varying arrangements, or it is a row of reversed vees. All ornaments are executed in bas relief and painted black, red and white. In the Shortland Islands the very high prow is frequently decorated with a carved human figure; according to the statements of natives this is a personification of the tutelary deity who grants [776] auspicious sea voyages and wards off evil spirits. In Buka the prow and stern are ornamented with an approximately 40 centimeter wide fringe, which extends from the tip of the prow to the waterline. This fringe (kehakehala) consists of red-dyed dried leaf strips of a species of palm.

The joints are tightened by smearing them with the pulverized [824] nut of parinarium laurinum. In order to give the light shell greater 396 resistance and durability, wooden frames are set into the boat, which press firmly against the sides and are fastened to these at the edge. These frames (in Buka called mapou) are cut from a single piece and, corresponding to the inside shape of the boat, are almost semicircular. The two upper ends of the semicircle are connected by a straight piece of wood. From the middle of this two or three props lead to the semicircle, which is thereby given greater rigidity. Also the thwarts for the rowers serve this purpose; they are notched underneath in such a way that the notches project beyond the edges of the boat on both sides and prevent them from bending in or out. These boats vary greatly in size; there are many that comfortably carry 40 adults and in addition a considerable cargo. In the middle of the large chieftains' boats a small platform is built on which the owner stands, with bow and arrow in hand.

The rowers sit together in pairs on the thwarts and propel the 502 boat with light oars that are different in the north and the south. In 171 the Shortland Islands the oar (fase) has a wider and shorter blade than in Buka; at the upper end the handle is provided with a small crook that projects at a right angle and gives the hand a comfortable means of grasping it powerfully. These oars are very well planed, but other- 501 wise unornamented. In Buka the oar (hose) is equipped with a long, 171 pointed, lancet-shaped blade and this is frequently decorated in bas relief--usually with the characteristic grotesque head or human figure, sometimes with a bird or fish, and sometimes also with round figures or zigzag lines; here the handle is never provided with a crook. I would like to mention that this characteristic Buka oar is still rather common nowadays, but it is cited completely erroneously in handbooks

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came, they lay down, their bones went cr-r-r-r-r-ack. 539
Another line lay down, their bones went cr-r-r-r-r-r-ack. The child's mother wanted to go to sleep, the child lay down and put his head in her lap. The mother tried to send the child to sleep first. The child slept. The mother went to sleep, her skin came off, the child was lying against her bones. The child was cold in the night, he thought the light in his mother's eyes was fire. He seized hold of his mother's eye. His mother said: "What are you doing to my eye?" "I thought it was a fire." "This place has no fire." Then the mother said: "To-morrow I shall take you back home."

Dawn broke. The mother hid the child. The people of the village went to work, there was no one left in the village. The child's mother watched the people go, she hid. When they had all gone she brought the child to the village. The child ate some taro, he said: "Why don't you eat some taro?" "I am not the same as I was before, I am different now." Then the mother went back. The child cried: "Oh, let me come with you." His mother said: "No, you can't come with me. You must die first, you go back now. You can't come now because you are still alive." Then his mother went away. The child sat down in the house and cried: "Oh! Oh! my mother has gone away." His mother went back to the place of all the *urar*, the next day the child died.

This story was told by Sankuro, of Kurtatchi, a boy in his later teens, still wearing the *upi*. He said he had heard the old man telling it. The details about *urar* given in the tale correspond with those obtained from other informants when discussing the question of death without reference to the tales. [115]

Class IX. Stories about Pinari and Tukis.

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The beings with which the stories in this class are con- 776
cerned occupy a place in the native scheme of things totally

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different from that of the spirits of Class VIII. They might perhaps be called " hobgoblins " because they seem to be regarded by the natives with much the same mixture of genuine fear and half-affectionate amusement as used to be, perhaps still is, felt by a rustic in some out-of-the-way corner of our own country for the " little people " inhabiting the neighbouring wood. However that may be, it is a very different feeling from the deep-seated terror which is aroused by the very mention of the word *urar*.

These beings are of two sorts. One group, known by the general name of Pinari, was described to me as being very long-legged, and having hair all over their bodies. They can be either male or female. On Buka the name is Tatopiok, but it seems to be thought of as belonging to an individual rather than to a group. The other beings, called Tukis on Bougainville and Tiukis or Tchiukis on Buka, are very tiny, and live in holes in the bush. Sometimes a story told of Pinari in one place will be attributed to Tukis in another, but there is clearly a distinction between them, since both will occasionally figure in the same tale, sometimes as enemies. To avoid confusion, I have retained the original terms in my translations.

These beings appear to correspond, more or less, to the Sakusaku of the Mono-Alu tales,[11] the Mara (" Waldkobold ") of Buin,[12] the Kakamora of San Cristoval,[13] and perhaps to the " Wild Men " described by Codrington.[14]

[11] G. Camden Wheeler, *Mono-Alu Folk-Lore*, p. 59, etc.

[12] R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, (Berlin, 1912), p. 367, etc.

[13] C. E. Fox, *The Threshold of the Pacific*, (London, 1924), pp. 138 ff. Fox suggests that the Kakamora " may be the people who held the land before the Melanesians entered it, in very ancient times, and who are now extinct, or they may be the memories of other people from other islands whence the Melanesians came." He argues against Codrington's view that they represent the notions held by the coast people about the people of the interior.

[14] Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 354.

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
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Stories are recorded of the first three of these which are similar, in some cases almost identical, with some of those in which Pinari and Tukis are the protagonists. I did not come across anything comparable to the " Rere ni Mesi " described by Ivens[15] (Fox's " Masai "[16]).

There is a very large number of these tales in my collection, some of them very long and involved. Certain stock incidents tend to be repeated, in slightly differing contexts. From considerations of space, I have chosen a short, but quite typical one, to represent this category in the present paper.

Tukis outwitted by a child.

A child was cross, and he cried, and he went to sleep on the front verandah. All the people had come back from paddling their canoes, they were asleep inside the house. Tukis came and took the boy, took him verandah[17] and all. He went into the bush by night. The boy woke up and hung on to a creeper that was hanging from an *atchitch* tree (the tree on which grow the nuts whose kernels when ground make the " putty " used to seal up holes in canoes, etc.) Tukis went on, carrying the verandah without any boy on it. The boy climbed up the *atchitch*. Tukis went back, he wanted to find the boy and eat him. The boy took a putty-nut and threw it at him. Tukis said : " Darkness, darkness come."[18] The boy said : " Dawn, dawn, come

[15] Ivens, *Melanesians of the S.E. Solomons*, pp. 409 ff.

[16] Fox, p. 148.

[17] The word translated " verandah " (*poh*) is the narrow platform of split areca palm trunks or bamboos which is placed in front of a native house, and much used for sitting and lying upon. Women are not allowed to use it, they have their own " verandah " at the back (*babots*). In the story as given by Fox (*op. cit.* p. 142) it is a coconut sleeping mat on which the boy is carried off, but sleeping mats are not used in North Bougainville.

[18] These two formulæ occur in a great many of the Tukis stories. The result is always the same.

CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS OF THE NATIVES OF BUKA

By GORDON THOMAS

131 BUKA is a small island, thirty miles long and ten miles wide, lying north of Bougainville and is the most northerly isle of the Solomons, though politically it is included in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea.

773 According to Buka legend the island was created when a god
823 and goddess arrived from out of the south (Bougainville) and, travelling in a *mon* (canoe) to the northward, the island of Buka arose in the wake of the *mon*. At various intervals the god threw away the husks of betel-nut which he was chewing and these, in turn, became the small islands off the west coast of Buka. While the god steered the coast line was straight; later when the goddess piloted the craft the course was crooked and hence the large harbour at the north-west end of the island. Upbraiding the goddess, the god resumed the steering and eventually arrived back at the starting point, leaving behind a straight coast line.

196 The word in the Buka language to designate a white man is *tolala* and had its origin when the first sailing ship was sighted by a Buka man standing on the beach. The huge spread of canvas appearing on the horizon seemed to the astonished native nothing more than an island approaching. Excitedly he called out: "*A tol alana mayen!* (An island is coming here!)" When it was found that white men were aboard they received the name formed by the first part of the native's cry.

881 Like most tribes of Melanesia their initiation ceremonies for youths to enter manhood are of paramount importance, and are still maintained with great secrecy, though missionary and government influence has done much to eliminate many of the more savage rites. Weeks before the ceremony the great spirit, Ndook, can be
● [176] heard calling in the bush, warning the community of its advent so as to prepare pigs for his feasting. The women—particularly the

4: Thomas U-5 (no date) 1931 ON6 Buka ON6
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fighting-men. This change is but another proof of the decadence of old-time customs in Buka.

Initiates of today range from nine to fifteen years of age. They undergo no particular preparation other than strict instructions to do as they are told by the older men. Initiates are called *tseezen*, those already initiated are termed *putz-putzi*, and the chiefs, masters and headmen are known as *muri-na-lium*.

When a meeting of *muri-na-lium* decides to hold a Ndook ceremony (such decision being governed by the number of candidates available) word is sent to all *putz-putzi* one or two months prior to the fixed date. A general meeting is held and ways and means decided upon for obtaining taro; the making of *makot* (scraped taro and coconut oil); the guests to be invited; those *muri-na-lium* who will exhibit totem figures, and the number of *bahuan* figures that will be made. The supplying of pigs is left to one or two of the older chiefs who secretly despatch a third man to the houses of owners of good fat pigs. This man stealthily thrusts a thick stick, used for carrying trussed pigs, through the doors of the pig-owners. This is a direct sign from Ndook that the owner must provide a pig for the spirit. Failure to do so would entail death. Such penalties have been enforced even of late years.

The totem figures are called *malai*, and are representative of either the *kekiliau* (bush fowl) or *naboin* (sea hawk) totems, which are the only two existing in Buka. The figures, carved from soft timber, take the form of a huge bird gaudily painted with native pigments, stencil ink purloined from some neighbouring plantation, or washing blue. They represent the spirit of a deceased chief or headman belonging to the *muri-na-lium* exhibiting the *malai*. Usually four or five *malai* appear at a ceremony from one village.

The *bahuan*, or secondary spirits (considering Ndook as being of the first order), consist of wooden images seven to eight feet high carved also from soft wood (see Plate II, A). They are attached at the base to long sticks which enable them to be lifted by the *putz-putzi*, who are covered with leaves or bushes. The *bahuan* also represent deceased chiefs of the same totem as the *muri-na-lium* exhibiting them. Keen rivalry is evinced in making these carvings. Sometimes the arms, mouth, tongue, penis or hands are manipulated

4: Thomas U-5 (no date) 1931 ON6 Buka ON6
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776 778 532 by means of a string. The *bahuan* shown in Plate II, B, was acclaimed a work of art by the spectators. It consisted of a framework of rattan covered with black calico, beneath which a *muri-na-lium* danced and gyrated.

881 688 Ceremonies are held in a special taboo area upon which no woman is permitted at any time to tread. Any matters connected with Ndook are kept strictly secret from the women (*be-hay*, as Ndook has named them). If one of them trespasses on this ground, catches sight of a carving to be used in a ceremony, or acquires any knowledge of the Ndook, she is put to death even today.

881 776 A week to ten days prior to the date of the ceremony *putz-putzi* are detailed to wander about the taboo ground operating the *liahan* and *rago*. The former is a bull-roarer which is looked upon as being the voice of the chief spirit or god. (The word *liahan* seems to signify god rather than a spirit, inasmuch as Liahan is the omnipotent creator of everything. He is invisible, and no attempt has been made to create his likeness in an image as has been done to spirits.) [534] The *rago* is an oscillatory-ribbon-reed instrument[3] consisting of a portion of a coconut leaf tied between two thin strips of stick and fastened into half a coconut shell. A shrill piercing note is given out when the instrument is blown upon. The *rago* represents the cry of Ndook's wife. These cries are continued throughout the days and nights prior to the ceremony and increase in volume and frequency as the appointed day approaches. Along certain highways the travels of Ndook are marked by bushes being trampled down and small trees uprooted.

881 Guests from neighbouring islands arrive quietly during the night prior to the ceremony and land near the ceremonial ground, keeping hidden from any women and *tseezen*.

When all preparations have been made, *bahuan* and *malai* completed, beds for food erected, and the various *putz-putzi* detailed to their tasks of operating the *bahuan*, carrying *malai* or merely to act as members of the attacking party, the *tseezen* are called from their respective houses by six or seven *muri-na-lium*. They emerge [38] half-fearfully with painted faces and hair oiled and smeared with

[3] *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Ed., page 303.

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CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS OF THE NATIVES OF BUKA. PLATE II.
A. *Two* bahuan *and four* malai *images.* B. *A group of* tseezen *and* putz-putzi *with a* bahuan *image.*

[p.230(B)]